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ABSTRACT

This presentation is the result of 60 structured interviews that were conducted in Kenya to investigate the effects of rapid social economic changes on the psychosocial mechanism of entire family networks. The investigation addressed the hypothesis that modernization was affecting the extent to which extended family processes and patterns were being practiced and maintained. It further explored the hypothesis that parent/child and spousal relationships would be central foci for describing and explaining change. Contents of the paper focus on detailed description and analysis of the interviews, the respondents' views, and modernization and changes. It was found that younger men and women discussed the nuclearization of the family, claiming that it improves father/child and husband/wife interaction. Hence, the ideology of independence from the extended family is supported. Younger respondents mentioned with approval increases in equality between spouses. This finding adds a new highlight to research on the ideology of equality. Of the younger Kenyans interviewed, the majority supported equalization in the home. Findings also suggest the importance of surveying across generations. While all groups discussed the impact on their family lives of the transition to modernity, differences across generations were found in the weight given the issues, as well as in the interpretation, evaluation, and explanation of social change. The paper concludes with a discussion of implications for changing family relations in Kenya. (RH)

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KENYA: FAMILY NETWORKS IN TRANSITION

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Parenting in Kenya:
Family Network in Transition

Abstract

This presentation is the result of sixty structured interviews that were conducted in Kenya recently to investigate the effects of rapid social economic changes on the psychosocial mechanism of entire family networks. The paper focuses on: detailed description and analysis of the interviews, the respondents' views, modernization and changes. It concludes with implications for the changing family relations in Kenya.

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Evidence and hypotheses about the effects of modernization on the family are mixed. Development of urban life has been shown to erode the traditional bonds of kinship and community. Migration to large cities disrupts old social ties and leaves individuals distant from traditional family values [1,2,3,4]. Other studies, however, conclude the opposite that the dissolution of extended family in urban industrial settings is a myth. Kin are more available and operate as a support structure more than was originally hypothesized [5,6,7].

How such change affects family members' attitudes toward family change is also important. Some work suggests the presence of two distinct ideologies, that develop as modernization impacts the extended family. One is independence from the extended family, the second is the ideology of legitimacy of equality between the sexes [8,9]. Yet, these do not appear consistently across all developing countries as they move toward industrial development and become modern [9,10,11], nor is the issue of gender equality consistent inside and out of the home. Recent work on modernization isolates effects on the individual, often on the first generation male [9,12]. This is particularly questionable especially when considering the change in practices or attitudes toward the family during these transitions. Recently psychological analysis of normal and abnormal behavior and its impact on individuals and families is moving away from the individual to the family [13,14,15] and beyond to subcultural and national variables [3,16,17]. This suggests that intergenerational approaches to the investigation of family and modernization makes scientific sense for studying psychosocial issues and that a variety of social settings is required.

Kenya, with its recent independence (1963), its emphasis on Maendeleo (development), its agrarian base in ethnically homogeneous village extended families, and its current demographics is ideal. Nairobi, the capital city, is one of the six most rapidly developing cities in Sub-Saharan Africa [18]. It has the highest growth (4%) and fertility (7.6%) rates and proportion of youth under 15 (50%) of any country in the world [19,20]. Recent unrest in Kenya has been attributed to the rural/urban transition and its economic and social disruption of family life [3,4,21,22,23].

Available research on the Kenyan family in transition supports some of the dominant worldwide themes. Disruption of family networks, increases in children who are misbehaving, changes in family values and practices are reported [4,17,18,23]. Yet, the Kenyan family is consistently resilient in its attempts to maintain the extended family, to retain traditional values and to consciously develop new patterns to keep family together. Village-city-village networks have been recognized for both economic [24] and psycho-social [25] needs of family. Economic returns from the city are returned to the village. Additionally, the urban-village migrant labor pool acts as its own network. Parts and even whole families move between the rural homesteads and urban dwelling sites specifically to keep families connected. These migrant male laborers live in town in ethnically homogeneous units not only for economic and cultural reasons, but to consciously maintain family and friendships valued highly at the village level.

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Given Kenya's situation and the issues yet to be clarified in research on the impact of modernization on the family, this current project focused on how the rapid transition to modernity is affecting the traditionally strong, integrated extended family networks of the old agriculturally based system.

We, therefore, hypothesized that modernization is affecting the extent to which extended family processes and patterns are being practiced and maintained. We were interested in the ways family members themselves perceived changes or continuity in patterns and practices and the causes to which such changes were attributed.

General perceptions were assumed to be important in both what people labelled as the changes and to what they were attributed. We further hypothesized that parent-child and spousal relationships would be central foci for describing and explaining change. Exactly what, to what extent, how, and why things were in transition, we left to the respondents themselves.

Methods

The method employed attempted to strike a balance between the scientific approach (item selection; sample selection; hypothesis testing) and the clinical method of meeting the respondents at their place [25]. This required a nonlinear, open-ended, interview process in which subjects could ask questions, also. The eleven-item open-ended protocol was administered to 64 respondents. Subjects were selected or approached by investigators or approached us for interview. Of all 60 subjects, 43 were from within extended families. Grandparents, parents, children, nieces, nephews, uncles, and aunts. The 43 came from nine separate extended families ranging from two to ten members within a family unit. The most often interviewed family unit was mothers and fathers (husbands and wives), and their children (five families--25 subjects) with more extended relations or incomplete units accounting for the remaining subjects in this group. All other subjects (17) were mostly friends of family members. Rural respondents came from a distance, (180 miles from Nairobi), or close (12 miles from Nairobi). Ages ranged from a seven year old female to a 100+ year old male. Occupations varied: students, famous artists, an historian, farmers, university personnel, herdsmen, beer brewers in slums, government workers, and grounds keepers. A wide variety of family relationships—grandparents, parents, children, wives, husbands, nephews, nieces, aunts, uncles, and monogamous and polygamous families--were represented.

The protocol was designed to proceed from individual history, work history, family history, urban/village experience and preference to critical changes in own life, impact of Maendeleo ("development") on "tribal" culture and family process. Interviews ran from one to two and one half hours and were taped on Panasonic portable standard cassette recorders. A few respondents did not wish to be taped, in which case notes were taken.

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Number of change statements were counted for each individual within each group and analyzed for content using standard content coding procedures [26]. All data were transcribed directly from cassette tapes and field notes.

Content Analysis. Subjects were divided into three major groups: (1) the older adult group, the younger adult group, and the children's group. The survey was designed to obtain data in these areas of change: perception of Maendeleo (development), or general change due to modernization, family issues, rural/urban experience, rural/urban preferences, and tolerance of the changes. Comments for all subjects were analyzed and scored for content from the transcribed, typed response sheets. The content categories were defined as follows:

(A) General Change had three subcategories: material change, psycho-social change, or both. Comments were scored in this category if: (a) a statement referred to time, e.g., "in the past", "old days", "grandfathers' time", "before it was better", and/or (b) transition language was used; e.g., "things are different", "it's not as easy", "education came along", "he herded cattle and I am employed", and/or (c) if comparisons were made; e.g., "it's harder to get school fees than when I went to school", "better", "worse", "easier", "simpler", "negative", "positive", and/or (d) the concept of change itself was used; e.g., "well, things are changing very fast." Additionally, the statements in this category were scaled into subcategories. Statements were either material, psycho-social, or material/psychosocial. A material comment referred to economic or object issues; e.g., "My children have stereos", "Money is now important." Psycho-social comments referred to change in psychological or social categories, e.g., "The family is not as cooperative", "We used to meet here often." Scaling of comments as both referred to data that incorporated a material and psycho-social comment, e.g., "Education has changed us; the more of it you get, the more things you have"; "Grandfather herded cattle and his life was easier." A fourth subcategory, political, was added for content referring to direct political matters seen as causing or influencing change, e.g., "The colonial government owned the land; now it belongs to the State", "The Reagan government keeps importing money here and technology, but it can never take root"

(B) Family Issues were scored as responses that included the term family, described family life, relationships or processes, e.g., marriage, death, needing help to solve problems (whether material or psycho-social), or visitation to family members or friends.

(C) Rural/urban perceptions referred to any comments about life in village and/or city and/or their effects on economic and/or social life or individuals, families, or groups.

(D) Residential Preference was scored as rural (village), urb (city or town), or both as a result of the answer given to the residential preference question and/or comments made on rural/urban perceptions incorporating preference or choice.

(E) Tolerance consists of statements made about changethat referred to accepting, welcoming, not liking yet recognizing the need to adjust to the changes discussed. Tolerance is not included in this analysis, nor were children's responses.

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Comments that fell into more than one category were counted separately for each category into which they fell. Total number of statements for each category and subcategory was counted for each subject and each group of subjects. Means of categories and subcategories for each group and for total subjects were computed and are presented in Table 1.

Each subject's content was entered into raw data sheets by two independent content analyzers and was subsequently coded into content areas independently. Interrater reliability for inclusive comments and category coding was 85-90%.

Groups by Age and Sex

In order to examine the effects of transition intergenerationally, the subjects were divided into older and younger adult groups. Any male or female over the reported age of forty was classified older adult, while male or female subjects between 20 and 39 years of age were classified as younger adult male and female groups. Children were subjects between 0 and 19. There were four adult groups. Older men (N=14), older women (N=9); younger men (N=90), and younger women (N=9). Children, analyzed altogether separately were a mixed sex group (N=19). Statement counts were made in accordance with these groupings inorder to assess the effects of transition among the generations and between the sexes. Educational levels for all groups were determined in response to an interview question and served as indicators of educational attainment. Educational attainment is operationally defined as years of formal schooling as reported by the subject. No years of formal schooling was coded as NONE, LOW = 1-8 years, MODERATE = 9 - high school, and HIGH = high school plus technical, community college, and/or college schooling. (See Table 3.).

Results

Numerical

Age: The average age of all subjects is 46.36 years. Older women average 59.95, older men 66.90, younger women 29.20, younger men, 29.40. So the division by age into categories appears to have yielded a reliable generation difference of at least 30 years between the older and younger groups. Since many younger subjects were the sons and daughters of older subjects, this is an appropriate age spread and attests to the age separateness of the samples. In only one case (older men) was a son included in the sample with a father due to age. The father was 77, while the son was 45.

Schooling

Older men and women: Older women had the least formal schooling with 55% reporting none, 33% low, and 12% moderate. Older men came next with 28% reporting none, 49% at low, 7% at moderate, and 14% at high. Notice, of the older men and women agemates, it is the men who have higher attainments in education.

Younger men and women: Young women came next; 0% report none, 45% report low, 8% moderate, and 45% high.

Of all groups, young men have the most years of schooling with 0% reporting none, 0% reporting low, 55% reporting moderate and 45% reporting high. Once again, for young men and women agemates, men have more years of schooling. The difference here is the number reporting low or moderate not those reporting none or high which is the same for both groups. We had reservations about using years of schooling as a measure of educational attainments since it did not take account of the variety and extent of significant life experiences such as job training and overseas travel during World War II, and in one case, clerking for British law offices, and being recorder of history of the Mau Mau. Yet, these were so varied and diverse they were difficult to scale reliably. The potential added value of these experiences in terms of response outcomes will be discussed since older men responded more and with more variety than any other group.

Content Analysis

Change Statements: The total number of change statements made by all 41 subjects is 349 with an average of 8.5 per individual/per group. Older women and younger women made the fewest change statements with a total/average of 51/5.6 and 47/5.2, respectively. The men made more change statement with older men making 176/12.5 and younger men, 75/8.3. Clearly, the older men made the most change statements. Older men make 50% of the change comments and are 34% of the subject pool. Young men made 21% of the comments, and are 22% of the subject group. Older women make 15% of the comments and are 22% of the subject group. While younger women make 12% of all comments are are 22% of the group.

Material: Of all change statements, older women and younger women made 8/.9 and 4/.4 material change statements respectively. Men's patterns are older men 44/3.1 and young men 19/2.1. Again, men made more material change statements with older men making the most.

Psycho-social: In psycho-social change statements, the very same pattern is repeated with older women 26/2.8, young women 7/.8, older men 84/6.4, and young men 41/4.5.

Both Material and Psycho-Social: This content analysis yielded a different pattern. Older women made 16/1.8, while young women made 36/4. Older men made 28/2 and young men 13/1.5. Here young women made the most and young men the least. Older respondents had intermediate response rates.

Political: Older men made 17/1.2 comments, young men made 19/1.3 and young women 7/.8. The older women made no political statements. Older men and younger men are generating more change comments in all categories except where material and psycho-social are combined.

Family: Tallies for change statements related to issues concerning the family were as follows: older women 44/4.8, younger women 27/3.0, older men 83/5.9, younger men 49/5.4. Again, men made more family related change statements than women with older men making most and young women least.

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Table II

Numbers/Averages Change Statements in Categories by Group

	X Age	# Change	X Change	XM/XM	XPS/XPS	X Both/X Both	XP/XP	Family #/X	Wh #
Older Women N: 9	59.95	51 (14.61%)	5.6	8/.9	26/2.8	16/1.8	0	44/4.8	34/
Younger Women N=9	29.20	47 (13.47%)	5.2	4/.4	7/.8	36/4	7/9/.8	27/3.0	22/
Older Men N=9	66.90	176 (50.43%)	12.5	44/3.1	84/6.4	28/2	17/1.21	83/5.9	55/
Younger Men N=9	29.40	75 (21.49%)	8.3	19/2.1	41/4.5	14/1.6	12/1.3	49/5.4	32/
Total X=	46.36	349 (100%)	8.5	65/1.5	178/4.3	93/2.25	32/.78	203/4.8	143/

M = Material comments
PS = Psycho-social comments
Both = Material and Psycho-social comments
P = Political comments

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SCHOOLING

	N/%			
Category of Subject	*None*	*Low*	*Moderate*	*High*
Old Women (40)	*5/55%*	*3/33%*	*1/12%*	*0/0%*
Old Men (40)	*4/28%*	*7/49%*	*1/7%*	*2/14%*
Young Women (20-39)	*0/0%*	*4/45%*	*1/8%*	*4/46%*
Young Men (20-39)	*0/0%*	*0/0%*	*5/55%*	*4/45%*

None = *no years formal schooling*
Low = *1-8 years formal schooling*
Moderate = *secondary education*
High = *college/technical training above Form VI*

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Villages: For village-town issues, older women made 34/3.7, younger women 22/2.4, older men 55/3.9, and younger men 32/3.5. Here older men especially and then older women made the most comments regarding village versus town living with young men close to older women and younger women making fewest.

Residential Preference: In total, the greatest voiced preference was for life in the village. Of the 41 subjects in this sample, 27 respondents or 65% of the sample would choose village; 10 or 25% choose town and 4 or 10% would want both. For older men the pattern is similar to older women, 12/85% village, 1/7% town and 1/7% choose both. Younger women were a bit different although the majority would choose village with 5/55% village, 2/23% town, 2/23% both. Younger men were different from groups; While 3/33% chose village, 5/55% chose town with 1/12% choosing both. Young men's group was the only one with a majority choosing town or urban life.

The summary of numerical tallies indicates important directions or differences and similarities in response categories between groups and, therefore, between the generations and sexes within the families interviewed. A closer examination of the actual content should provide direction for understanding the important issues raised within and between the groups.

Content Within Groups

Older Men: For the group of 14 older men whose ages ranged from 40 to 100+ years, the predominant themes were spread across broad issues. This group made comments concerning crimes and cash economy (15 statements), statements relative to disobedience of children (20), and the impact of education on the process of change (13). There were 21 comments on the village-town topics. Table 4 shows content of comments and number of respondents for this group.

Issues concerning unemployment were mentioned (6 statements) not necessarily in terms of economic matters, but also in relation to the young being unoccupied and thus resorting to crime. Statements about changes in the family (11 on cooperation of family, 5 on family breakdown) were also mentioned. Eight statements concerning the way husband/wife (equality) and parent/child relationships (disobedience, disregard) had changed were counted. The change in marriage and the introduction of Christian ways leading to equality of spouses were mentioned with 7 statements made specifically in reference to changes in marital traditions.

In this group of older men, 3 said they thought that the changes that were taking place were indications of the coming (foretold) end of the world or that God was angry. And, finally 3 older men mentioned the increased occurrence of interracial marriages that they saw as a major change during their lives.

In their statements about urban/rural living, the older men tended to talk about the advantages of the rural life over those of the city. Nine of them, for example, mentioned the economic advantage; 5 that village people know and care about each other; 8 specifically mentioned

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Table #3

Residential Preference by Group

Residential Preference	V	T	Both
Older Women (N=9)	8 (89%)	1 (11%)	0 (0%)
Younger Women (N=9)	5 (55%)	2 (23%)	2 (23%)
Older Men (N=9)	12 (85%)	2 (15%)	0 (0%)
Younger Men (N=9)	3 (35%)	5 (55%)	1 (11%)
Total X =	28 (68%)	10 (25%)	3 (7%)

V = Village
T = Town

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Table #4

Older Men:

Issues	*Number of People*
More education	9
Education as Agent of Change, Child Knows More Now	4
Children are Less Obedient	8
Young Women are Harder to Supervise	3
Father more Accessible	4
Christian Ways have Made a Difference	3
Change from Polygamous to Monogamous Families has Changed Social Mores	4
Parents Used to be Consulted About Marriages	2
Cooperated Between Families/Clans	11
Family Breakdown	5
Economic Matters are Harder	5
Crime, Cash Economy, City Problems	3
Cash Economy Creates Crimes/Family Problems	8
Crime Due to Education	1
Crime Due to Urban Life	3
Village Life is Better than City Life	9
Village People know Each Other	5
All Things are Free in the Village	8
City is for Jobs	6
Change indicates End of The World	2
Interracial Marriages	3
Changes Taking Place Due to End of World/Biblical Prophecies	3

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that everything in the village was free (did not have to be bought); and 6 said that the city was only for jobs and not for living. Of the 14 older men, only one said they would prefer to live in the city rather than in the rural village. All respondents in this group made a consistent number of political comments, the themes of which are discussed separately.

Older Women: The nine older women with little or no education perceived education as both an outcome and a major cause of the changes. Six of the nine women mentioned this factor. The other variables that they mentioned often were that one could grow food in the village (7); that economic matters were more difficult now (4), and that marriage is different (4). Table 5 shows themes mentioned and the number of people who mentioned them.

As far as the family unit was concerned, the older women (3) were convinced that their children would perpetuate the tribal practices especially in the sharing of household chores which were seen as predominantly women's work. These women also mentioned that the relationship between husbands and wives were changing (3), and perhaps the men were not as well respected as before (2).

Children, especially those raised in the city, were said to be disobedient and less willing to listen to their parents than the village children (3).

In the area of village-town, again the older women did not talk of the city as an alternative place to live. They saw it as a place to make money, but as no place to raise children (4).

Of the nine older women all except one, who was living in the city at the time, preferred to live in the village.

Younger Men: The three themes that the group of younger men mentioned most often were the economic factors related to lack of jobs, land, and opportunities(8) the difference between the Western and traditional cultures(7), and the closeness of the members of a nuclear family(4). This group also mentioned political factors(5) in relation to the above three themes. Table 6 shows the number of younger men who mentioned the various themes.

In their views, most of the changes were perceived by them as due to the coming of the "whiteman." Four out of nine of them attributed those changes to that factor.

While all of them said that changes had taken place, only two of them said that these changes were "complete." Most of the others saw these changes as transitional trends from the traditional to the modern.

While most of the general comments were either material with psycho-social implications (e.g., economic conditions are tougher now so we have smaller, isolated nuclear families), the family factors per se were seen as positive (e.g., children are closer to the father because he is around more often). Five men in this category mentioned that wives were closer to their husbands and five mentioned that children were less afraid of their fathers than had been the case when they themselves were children.

In the village/town area, the two most commonly mentioned items were economic hardship(8) and social alienation (5) (in the village you do not pay rent and in the city you do not know anybody). Five of the nine mentioned the rent issue, and five mentioned the security of family

Table #5

Tallies of Comments for Older Women (N=9)

Content Areas	Number of Respondents
Economy is Tougher	5
Educatioin Makes Difference	5
People have higher Standard of Living	6
Family	
Marriage is Different Now	4
Rites of Passage being Challenged	3
Women Do Not Fear Their Husbands	1
Children are More Autonomous	1
Children are More Demanding	2
Children are Less Obedient	2
Husband/Wife Relationships Different	2
Relationship in the Family were Good	3
Husband Allow Wife to Work for Money	1
Village/Town	
City Not a Place to Live, But a Place to Work	4
You Can't Grow Your Own Food in the City	4

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Table 6

Tallies of Comments for Younger Men (N=9)

Content Area	Number of Respondents
More Education, More Opportunities	3
Less Land Per Person	6
Economy is Harder	8
Changes Traceable to Coming of Whites	4
Differences Between traditional and Western Cultures	7
Rites of Passage Different	7
Family	
Husband/Wife Closer	5
Family Smaller and More Isolated	4
Children are Less Afraid of Fathers	5
Men/Women Share More Responsibility and are More Equal	4
Village/Town	
The Village is completely different	2
Village is Good Because Food is Cheap	5
Friends and Families in the Village—In Town You Don't know Neighbors	5
You Don't Pay Rent in the Village	5
City People Not Helpful to Each Other	3
Political Statements	
People are So Corrupt	7
Legal Change Protecting Wives	1
communication Important Because it Increases National Udnerstanding	1

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and neighbors in the village. Three of 9 said that city people were not helpful

Younger Women: The nine younger women made family statements and statements with respect to education. Five of these women mentioned some aspect of education, particularly as an opportunity for boys and girls, although 2 said it was less available to girls than to boys. Table 7 shows the number of younger women who mentioned various issues that they considered to have changed and their perception and choice of either rural or city living.

With respect to family statements, younger women mentioned the relationship between children and with husbands frequently. Three mentioned the fact that families are now smaller; two mentioned that children are more intimate with parents; two said extended families were closer before; and two said that children have freer and easier lives today. Three of these women mentioned that marriage was between two people and, therefore, said interracial marriages were acceptable to them. Two women mentioned that children tended to demand more as they grew older while 2 mentioned that unlike their own mothers, they had aspirations beyond family matters.

An aspect that was mentioned as detrimental to the family was the practice of modern family planning. Two women said that the family planners want to limit the size of the family, a fact not particularly welcome to them.

In talking about the city, these women mentioned the alienation issue as important in helping them select rural instead of city life ("In the village, you share the same gate--that's security." "In town no one knows you, you can do what you want"). Two of them were explicit in saying that one does not choose urban life--one gets a job where it is available. Five of the nine younger women preferred to live in the rural area, two in the city, and two preferred to live in both.

Four of these women said that village life was good because they could grow their own food. Also mentioned were educational opportunities viewed as better in the city

Common Themes

The common themes amongst all groups are the importance of education, changes within the extended and nuclear family, increase in economic difficulty to provide for family, village preference. While each group stressed these themes, their emphases varied.

Education: For old women and men, the majority see education as being an important aspect of self-development and something their children must have for success. Young men saw education as the means for advancement both socially and economically, and as a way of developing communication not only in the immediate environment, but internationally, as well.

Young women also saw education as the vehicle for self-development, but they consistently mentioned the existent inequality in the system of availability of this resource for men and women. Women get fewer resources and have fewer options for varieties of training.

Family Change: Older women's views of family change revolve around three issues. Children are seen as less obedient and more demanding; they see their children's marriages differently

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Table #7

Tallies of Comments for Young Women

Content Area	Number of Respondents
More Education--Child Will Leave Farm	5
Unequal Opportunities for Boys and Girls	2
Mothers Didn't have Aspiration	2
Family	
Children Want More As They Get Older	2
Interracial Marriage Between 2 Partners	3
Few Kids Today	2
Extended Families Closer in the Past	2
Children Intimate with Parents	2
Children Freer, Easier Life	2
Family Planning Forcing to Reduce Family Size	2
Village/Town	
Village is Better--You Grow Own Food	4
No One Knows You in the Village	4
No One Knows You in the City	3
Educational Opportunities Better in the City	3
Political	
They Got us Brainwashed	3

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than theirs were, husbands and wives are now becoming more equal in marriage; their children learned the traditional ways from them regardless of the old changes. In general, the women saw their family relationships as quite good. Older men also recognized categories of family change. Children are less obedient; as with old women, they add that young women are harder to supervise; that children can approach fathers more easily than in the past when they had to go through the mothers; Christian traditions have changed the family because there is less polygamy; there was more extended family in the past with cooperation between clans; there is more family breakdown today; people don't know their neighbors; town people don't really have families as in the village; some people, men and women, will even abandon their children. In general, old men focused more on the shrinking family and the disruption of family life. Even the the majority of these men said their family relations were good.

Young women focused on parent-child and husband-wife closeness. This has increased with the nuclear family. Family size is smaller, yet two village respondents mentioned their opposition to family planning because it reduces family size. Children's lives are easier and freer today. Yet, children demand more as they get older. They mentioned that marriage is between two people, so interracial marriage is acceptable. Unlike their mothers, some of these young women mentioned that they had aspirations beyond family matters.

Young men see family change as follows. They said that fathers are closer to their children now than their fathers were to them. Notice as with older men and women, this is a common issue within family change statements. Second, younger women and younger men discussed and supported equality in marriage between husband and wife mentioning that in their fathers' time it was not like that. Like the older women, younger men and women mentioned the legal changes occurring around these issues of male-female equality in marriage.

Family change has some consistencies. All groups mention clear relational changes between parents and children and between spouses. Older men and women are most concerned with the breakdown of obedience in children & family. Younger men and women stress issues of spousal equality, ease of relationships between parent and child. Older men focus most on father/child changes. All women focus most on equality in marriage, while younger men focus on both.

Economic Difficulty

Across all groups, economic difficulties in meeting school fees, feeding families and meeting economic responsibilities were mentioned. Older women talked about basic needs and meeting the needs of their children. Older men discussed school fees and lack of employment opportunities. Young women talked about school fees and meeting children's demands, while young men exclusively focused on lack of land, and the shrinking job market and looked to the city as their resource of economic possibilities. But, all those who commented regardless of their group, agreed that the economic difficulties were increasing.

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Village/Town Preferences

In three groups, old women, old men, and young women, the majority chose village life. They stressed availability of housing, food, water, friends, family, and security as village benefits. In fact, these respondents viewed the city as holding no benefit to families except as a place to be employed. However, a majority in the group of young men chose the city. Since land was not readily available to them, they sought economic opportunity in town and they wanted to be near it.

While the younger men saw the possible social and material benefits in the city, they expressed the fear that one may not know one's neighbors. They mentioned that people cooperated less in the city than in the village, hence, their regular visits to the village, especially over the weekends.

Cultural Opportunities

At least one respondent from every group made mention of urban/village differences in quality of schooling and in availability of cultural opportunities. Eight of the 41 subjects or 19% mentioned this in discussing the residential preference issue. This was identified as a positive aspect of urban life. Interestingly, it was only raised by urban residents. No village resident ever raised this as a theme.

In one interview with two large families, the opportunity to meet different peoples in the city was mentioned. However, the same two families mentioned that it was very important to continue teaching the traditional language to their offspring.

Political Themes

The political themes among the groups were as follows: Younger women made five political comments. One was about being brainwashed by British culture, two were on boy/girl education differences, girls being less equal and two on forced family planning.

Older men, who made 17 comments, had a variety of major themes. These were differences in state-colonial government, Nairobi as a city, role of foreign economies in Kenyan development, role of the state government in development. The older men also had three members who attributed the negative aspects of the change to religious-spiritual themes, i.e., God is angry, it is cosmic, predicted in Bible at end of the world, it is in the clouds.

Younger men's themes were influence of white Western culture, racism, need for foreign money to rebuild slums as opposed to naval bases, nature of education before and after indepencence, role of education in creating change.

Across three groups the most commonly mentioned political themes with 7, 8, 8 statements each were the impact of outside white Western cultures on Kenya, role of state/colony and independence/colonization in their lives, and global political statements. Racism was mentioned four times. Schooling, family planning, and city were mentioned three times each in relationshp to political issues as were cosmic, religious-spiritual issues.

The number of political comments averaged less than one per subject over the entire sample of adults. Yet, men made more than one each. For all 23 men, 29 comments were made.

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government on their lives, racism, the role of education in creating change, global economic issues and impact on Kenya; Nairobi, and religious-spiritual explanations of current changes and difficulties in their lives.

The content analysis of these comments exposes a broad awareness of some concrete political problems before and after independence. Their perceptions of the role of local, state, and foreign governments in the changes for better and worse are clear to them. The oldest men in the sample saw these political issues in an even more universalistic fashion. They viewed crime, marital disruption, unemployment, rudeness, and disruption of village life as a function of the universe and/or God and as a fulfillment of Biblical prophecy.

The majority of older men and younger men clearly saw the influence of colonial, local, state, and foreign governments as having had major impact on the transition which, in turn, has affected family relationships.

Common Themes by Age and by Sex

Older Men/Older Women: Older men and women share five central themes. Education is important as a benefit and agent of change, things are getting tougher economically, marriage rites and spousal relations are different, children are less obedient, they choose village over town for residence.

What distinguishes old men from old women is not so much the broad central themes, but the extent to which they attempt to explain (men) rather than describe (women-men). This accounts perhaps for the greater number of statements made by men. They include analyses of political and social aspects of change. They highlight crime, government--both local and foreign, colonial and national in their responses. Women do not include these factors.

The central importance of family issues specifically, husband-wife relationships, children--parent relationships, city effects on family, change from traditional to Western practices in marriage and its impact on family is critical in the transition of family life and account for a significant portion of the comments in these older groups.

Younger Men/Younger Women: In this group, education was a benefit, the developing equality between husbands and wives; changes to nuclear family allowing closer relations between children and fathers, increases in economic difficulties, and the impact on traditional culture of Western culture were common. However, the younger women discuss disobedient children and their increasing demands for material goods, while younger men concentrate on land, and job opportunities. For the first time, a majority of a group (younger men) choose city-life, while younger women still choose the village.

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DISCUSSION

"The more things change, the more they stay the same."

In order to try to understand the meaning of the above statement , it is necessary to focus on each of the major themes in the categories outlined above: change itself, the material factors, the psycho-social factors, both material and psycho-social factors, and the town-village issue and preference thereof.

Change: An examination of all interviewed showed that with few exceptions, positive changes were seen to have taken place and to be taking place by the 41 subjects. The most striking factor here is that women--both younger (13.47%) and older women (14.61%) made far fewer statements (only 28.08%) than men while older men alone made 50.43% and younger men 21.49%.

Several factors can be used to explain this substantial difference. First, all groups say that education was a major cause of the changes they perceived. When the education data is examined, it is readily noticeably that there is considerable difference between the sexes. While both the younger and the older men have moderate (62%) or high (59%) education levels, women have only 20% in the moderate and 46% in the high levels. The 46% in the high group comes from four younger women. It is therefore easy to see how the amount of education could have influenced the type and number of responses in the category where people said that either education has changed things--coming from older women--or education has changed our lives--coming from mainly younger men and women. Older men tended to mention education levels less although they alluded to it in terms of economic opportunities.

Another important factor that was constantly mentioned was the economic hardships that to some of the respondents had become a major concern over the last "few" years. To those who lived in the village, economic hardships were seen as externally determined. They talked of greater difficulties in paying school fees, in providing more material things to their children who were more demanding than previously, and mentioned the fact that their children who had completed schooling could not find jobs. In several instances, this was seen as a major contributor to crimes in the village and in the city. Idleness rather than real need for money was the major culprit.

While agreeing that change was indeed taking place, most of the older people had problems in accepting that the traditional practices were dying. The older women in particular, saw their daughters having more opportunities outside the homestead because of expanded rights and higher education but they also saw them as the custodians of the household. They were quite candid about the fact that equal opportunities did not mean equality at home. Their daughters expressed their satisfaction with changing, expanding responsibilities and the help or sharing of chores that husbands were providing. It is possible that the older women are not quite aware of the changing role of younger husbands with respect to household chores.

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it may be that the behavior of the younger generation is different while older members are around (for example, men may not cook or wash dishes while their parents are visiting, or that the older women do not want to accept the fact).

The tendency to hedge to whether change was taking place was also found among men. In the case of the older men, some explanation of changes taking place were enumerated as discrete entities. Even when some of the explanations were elaborate by themselves, they did not connect with each other. In the case of the oldest member (100+ years), his concluding remark was that he really did not understand what was causing all these changes, but perceived a cyclical pattern in his life which could be attributed to cosmic forces.

In the case of the younger men, the change had started with the coming of the white men and was going to continue because of increasing education, lack of land, hence the migration to cities, opportunities for women which resulted in small nuclear families for which the younger men felt more responsibility.

In deciding whether the changes were positive or negative, the four groups indicated that most changes were good, but they had been accompanied by negative ones. While going to the city to work was beneficial financially, it was negative in that they lost touch with village families and suffered from alienation and city crime while children became disobedient in spite of better health conditions and schools. Economically, the city workers may make more money, but they spend it all on food and rent--two commodities for which the village people do not pay. Therefore, this is why they see things as economically harder. In the village they have to pay school fees, too.

At one level, therefore, these people are making their choices based on mundane issues--food, rent, and resistance to change, while at another level, these choices have very deep psychological (meaning emotional) dimensions. The attachment to land that all of them feel and articulate, the continuation of extended family ties, the continuation of traditional practices and languages especially for those who have traveled long distances to come to the city are indeed of major concern to them. However, they perceive changes as inevitable mixtures of good and bad.

Inspite of the pressure to change or not to, these people seem to handle their lives diligently. They say some of these pressures are overwhelming or insurmountable; yet, they rely on relatives and friends to help them which, in turn, keeps the family strong. They give a sense of being able to contain the changes and to a certain extent, ward off those pressures that seem to be making changes they do not want. The older say they would like to see their children continue the traditional way, but they also enjoy the modern amenities and opportunities their children have. Education, employment, big houses, clothes, and extended rights for women are appreciated while paying for food, housing, schooling, and breakdown of extended family clan support are regretted.

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One gets the impression that these are people who are coping with changes as they occur and except for expecting more changes, they have no consistent or central ideology or plan for accommodating these changes.

Material Changes

Most comments in this category are a contrast of the village/town life especially in connection with opportunities provided by education. The older women whose lives revolve around the village emphasize ability to grow food which they sell to the city people, their houses for which they do not have to pay every month since they do not carry mortgages. And the material welfare of their children. The older men also mention these factors but regret the lack of job opportunities for their children who may have the education, but no employment. To some of these men, demand for modern things (cigarettes, better clothes, stereos) and idleness cause the young men to commit crimes.

In the younger groups, there was a great acceptance of needs for material things. They saw no conflict in working hard to get cars and big houses and for the younger men, land. Some of those who lived in the city said that they would go back to the land if they could. Some of the educated ones lived in the city because there was clean water, electricity, and better schools.

While younger women preferred to go back to the land if these amenities were available, younger men were more reluctant to do so. Younger men saw their role as owners of land, and custodians of family property as having been eliminated by changes and they said their role as the main earners in the city defined them as providers of the family. They did, however, give credit to their wives as contributors to this role, but men mentioned the necessity for wives to work less frequently than their wives did. One older woman commented that "these days husbands allow their wives to work outside the family homestead."

Contrary to literature that emphasizes the parental expectation that their children will be providers in old age, there was hardly any mention of this among any group. In two incidents, one mother said that her younger children do not ask her advice on how to spend their money, while in another case an older man said that if children decided to give him something he would gladly accept. In this case, the children were putting up a stone house for their parents of their own accord.

The economic matters were characterized as positive but also negative when they created expectations and wants that were not met.

Psycho-Social and Family Factors

One of the striking features of this category is that most statements were often made in the context of either family units or other larger groups (e.g., village, clan, or town neighbors) and less frequently in terms of the individual. The main issues were social in the sense that most of the respondents concentrated on the family, the village/town life, and to a lesser

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extent, on economic factors that had social implications.

The changing concept of the family from clan to extended family to nuclear family was invoked on many accounts because it changes family constellations and male/female roles in the family. While the large units had spread responsibilities to other than nuclear members, thus allowing gender roles to be maintained, the nuclear family made it necessary for such responsibilities to be shared across gender lines. Women worked for economic reasons and men were closer to their children because they were often at home in non-working hours instead of being with other male members of the large units. In addition, individual women could develop their own ideas of the type and size of family they wanted thus being able to decide to take or not take advantage of family planning facilities that were provided free by the government. However, as a group most of the women did not raised this as an issue those who did viewed it as an external plan to control the sizes of their families and they did not like it.

Another social factor that was mentioned had to do with family relations. While younger women and men saw fathers as being more accessible to their children and men saw their wives as more equal to them than had been the case with their parents, the older men and women commented on the children being "more difficult", "more demanding", "more disobedient" especially in the cities, wives being less respectful of their husbands, and increase in crime. These comments were made in the context of change and indicate an awareness of those disruptive forces at work in these communities.

As a result of the changed sociological factors like migration to the city, feelings of anomie and lack of jobs for the educated and uneducated alike, parents were aware of the impact of modernization on family life.

Education, which was viewed as the major agent as well as result of change had certain psycho-social consequences. Across all groups, while parents advocated more education in general for their children, they felt their children needed it mainly for success. However, they also felt that education was forcing some of the "negative" changes on their children and the society as a whole. A similar fear was expressed with respect to material possessions which were perceived as good at one level, but the need to acquire them sometimes excessive and creating impretaves for some of the negative behaviors of children in the city.

In some ways, the older parents felt that they did not have control over their children. When some of them said that children are "more independent" and do not consult us about use of money or who to marry, they are expressing a loss that left a void in the traditional practice of being the "heads" of their families. Their conflict in accepting the changed role is excerbated by lack of defined practices in the "modern" ways which in the case of marriage has been Christian or Islam, which are alien to these people. This makes the findings of Liembe[4], Uzoka[3], and Mbon[23] all the more salient since these are the exact issues they raise. While the role of the parents in these modern marriages may be defined in the case

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of religious marriages, the parents do not play the traditional roles of being the main "players" from the courting time through the wedding processes and afterwards. In the non-religious marriages, parents may not know that their children are getting married until after the fact. Such examples were used to explain the feeling of dislocation in the family ties.

A psycho-social aspect that was perhaps most disturbing to all groups was the choice between life in the village and life in the town. Older women, most of whom had lived in the village, had no conflict about their desire to continue to live there. The older men who had some exposure to the city and other countries, were equally committed to village life. The younger women had exposure to the city and some of them lived in the city but they preferred to live in the village. Younger men were the only ones who felt the need to live in the city because they had lost their place on the land and the city was, therefore, where economic opportunities existed for them. Some of them were at pains to explain their preference for the city because of these material rather than psycho-social factors. Economic opportunity was the factor determining choice of residence. Although they had moderate to high schooling levels, they did not emphasize education as a factor of change in their lives. It is possible that they saw education as a vehicle to economic advancement that they were supposed to achieve and, therefore, took it for granted.

Political Factors

Unlike the other categories where all groups made comments, older women made no "political" comments, and younger women made far fewer comments than either of the men's groups. This may be an indication of women's differing roles especially the older ones in political matters of the community and the country at large. For them, the political interests may be determined by their immediate environment, considering most of them live on the land, whereas men in general have to contend more directly with forces beyond their immediate surroundings because of wage employment. Younger women also can be said to have made the number of political statements they did because of differences in interaction with outside forces. Those younger women mentioned factors such as unequal opportunities for job preparation, family planning being forced on them as a way to reduce family size, and that increased education and wage employment signify potential movement to self-expression and emancipation for them.

Younger men's comments, differed from younger women's in their emphasis on broad political issues. They mentioned the coming of the whiteman, the country's relationship with foreign governments, effects of political change from colonial to indigenous government and the role of foreign money in building of naval/army bases and slums and global economic issues. These comments were made in attempt to explain causes of changes that were perceived to have taken place. They also can be interpreted as a way of emphasizing individual and small group helplessness to control these changes. They were not only being controlled by governments that were out of touch with their needs but those governments where controlled

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by even more powerful and inaccessible governments.

In spite of these statements there were no suggestions on how to tackle the problems engendered by these political issues. In the case of three older men, there were expressions of helplessness that could only be explained in cosmic and religious terms. The Biblical forecast of the coming of the end of the world was invoked as an explanation of the disruptive changes that were taking place. It should be mentioned that the interviews took place during a very politically charged period just before parliamentary election. While this factor may explain the taciturn nature of these respondents in the political arena it is not possible to predict that they would have/have not articulated political concerns in different circumstances.

CONCLUSION

There is support for the theoretical position that modernization creates significant change in extended family processes as predicted by Goode[8], Uzoko[3,17], and Wells[12]

Respondents agreed that change in extended family processes were evident and significant. The majority evaluated overall changes as both positive and negative. There was a trend especially in the older men and women to feel that changes in family were disruptive. Families are shrinking, children are disobedient and demanding, spouses' roles are changing in ways that were unfamiliar and rituals, e.g., marriage, were no longer generally practiced. These outcomes created uncertainty in their own relationships to their family members.

The issues of modernization and development of family ideology are supported by this research. Younger men and women both discuss the nuclearization of the family claiming it improves father/child and husband/wife interaction. Hence, the ideology of independence from the extended family is supported. Secondly, younger respondents mention increases in equality between spouses and they approve.

This adds a new highlight to research on the ideology of equality since Miller's[11] work specifically rules out acceptance of equality in the home while documenting the presence of this ideology in the men analyzed concerning their wives in the wage labor system.

Of the younger Kenyans interviewed, in the majority, support equalization in the home, sharing tasks, financial responsibilities, and child rearing. Perhaps this is an area that should be detailed in future research. Do Kenyans support this equalization outside the home? Are these patterns of ideology affected by educational levels? Are they an urban phenomenon? Is it a universal pattern in Kenya? Additionally, Goode predicts it is correlated with family ideology while Miller[11] presents contrary evidence.

On the issue of methods, family or individual approach, the data from this project reveals the importance of surveying across the generations. While all groups discuss the impact on their family lives of this transition to modernity and child behavior, cultural issues, are all important to all groups, differences exist in the weight given each as well as the interpretation,

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evaluation and explanation of the changes depending on generation and also sex. Yet, all agree the traditional family is in transition and the outcomes of that process are still to be fully assessed.

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